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Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 IO-14 ISO-00 PRS-01 H-02
SSM-05 SIG-02 SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 INRE-00 INR-07
PM-05 NSAE-00 PA-02 MCT-01 ACDA-12 /099 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/P:WBHARRIS:RGH
APPROVED BY NEA/P:GFSHERMAN
S/PRS - MR. CARTER (INFO)
H - MR. FLATEN (INFO)
SSM - MR. MC ANDREW
NEA - MR. NEUMANN
NEA/ARN - MR. DRAPER
NEA/IAI - MR. SMITH
NEA/EGY - MR. NEWBERRY
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O 122301Z OCT 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USMISSION SINAI
AMCONSUL DHAHRAN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
USINT BAGHDAD

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AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
USCINCEUR
DOD/JCS
CIA
USIA

UNCLAS STATE 245381

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING - OCTOBER 12

1. FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING FOR OCTOBER 12. FYI ONLY, SPOKESMAN TODAY WAS HODDING CARTER III.

Q. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING FROM THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST YET?
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A. YOU MEAN IN RESPONSE TO THE WORKING PAPER?

Q. YES.

A. NO. THE PAPER GOES TO THEM NOW.

Q. HAS IT GONE?

A. YES. I BELIEVE IT IS NOW IN THE CHANNEL TO THEM. "NO" TO ANSWER THE QUESTION, WE DO NOT HAVE A REACTION TO IT YET.

Q. WELL, YOU SAY IT IS IN THE CHANNEL TO THEM. IS THAT THE SAME PAPER THAT WAS GIVEN TO THE ISRAELIS OR IS IT A

PAPER THAT HAS ANY AMENDMENTS OR ANYTHING ADDED TO IT?

A. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THERE IS NO AMENDMENT TO IT FROM THE ISRAELIS AND WHAT WILL BE SENT TO THEM IS THE WORKING PAPER THAT WE, IN FACT, HAVE BEEN USING AS A WORKING PAPER WITH THE ISRAELIS.

Q. WILL THERE BE ANY KIND OF ANNEX, ANY OTHER KIND OF SUGGESTION ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM?

A. I KNOW OF NO ANNEX AT THIS TIME. BUT LET ME STRESS THAT THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PAPER DOESN'T PRECLUDE THE

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NEED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS NOT ONLY WITH THE ARAB NATIONS, BUT ALSO WITH ISRAEL BECAUSE THERE ARE PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN IT WHICH ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH AND THAT THEY ARE CONTINUED. I MEAN WITHOUT GOING INTO THE SPECIFICS OF THE WORKING PAPER, A NUMBER OF DETAILS WHICH STILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT AND SPECIFICALLY THE QUESTION, THE OVERWHELMING QUESTION, REMAINS, THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ONE,
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AS FAR AS THE PROCEDURAL.

Q. JUST ON A PROCEDURAL QUESTION, JUST SO WE KNOW HOW THE THING IS GOING TO OPERATE, SUPPOSING ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE ARABS THEN MAKES A CHANGE OR SUGGESTS A CHANGE SAYING THAT WE CAN ACCEPT IT ONLY WITH THE FOLLOWING CHANGE, DOES IT THEN HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE ISRAELIS?

A. AS I UNDERSTAND THE DEFINITION, AND I DON'T WANT TO GET MYSELF TOO FAR OUT ON ICE, A WORKING PAPER IS PRECISELY THAT. IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO GET SOME IDEAS DOWN TO SEE WHAT THAT PAPER CAN ACCOMPLISH IN THE WAY OF BRINGING RESOLUTION OF ISSUES AND ACCEPTANCE OF WHAT IS CONTAINED THEREIN. BUT YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER, I REPEAT, THAT THERE ARE TOUGH QUESTIONS WHICH NONETHELESS WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH ALL PARTIES EVEN IF ALL OF THEM ACCEPTED IT VERBATIM. IN THE EVENT, OBVIOUSLY, THAT CERTAIN SECTIONS OF IT WERE REJECTED, THEN EQUALLY OBVIOUSLY THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED AND THOSE OBJECTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE RAISED AND THAT IS PART OF THE WHOLE PROCESS THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN.

Q. WHEN WILL THERE BE AN EFFORT TO SPECIFICALLY WORK OUT THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION BECAUSE I FOR ONE WAS LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT YOU MIGHT TRY TO FINESSE THAT ISSUE WITH THIS WORKING PAPER?

A. YES. I NOTED CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS ALONG THAT LINE.

THE PROBLEM WITH SAYING YOU CAN FINESSE IT SIMPLY IS ONE THAT I REALLY CAN'T ADDRESS VERY WELL MYSELF. THE POINT IS AND REMAINS THAT WHOEVER IS GOING TO PARTICIPATE AT GENEVA HAS TO BE ACCEPTED BY ALL THE PARTIES IF THEY
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ARE NEW PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE AND I DON'T KNOW EXACTLY HOW YOU FINESSE THAT QUESTION.

Q. TO BE CLEAR, THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, THAT IS WHICH PALESTINIANS REPRESENTING

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WHAT, STILL HAS NOT BEEN SOLVED?

A. IT REMAINS AN OUTSTANDING ISSUE IN THAT THERE ARE STILL OBVIOUSLY DIFFERING VIEWS AND IN SOME CASES AS PUBLICLY EXPRESSED DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSING VIESS ON THAT SUBJECT.

Q. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? WE HAVE TWO AND A HALF MONTHS NOW BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. THIS PAPER IS GOING TO THE ARABS. WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN? OUR AMBASSADOR IS GOING TO TAKE THE DOCUMENT?

A. AT THIS POINT, YES. IT IS GOING TO BE GIVEN THROUGH THE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS AND AT THAT POINT THAT WILL BE EXAMINED AND I AM SURE STUDIED AND A REPLY WILL BE GIVEN, AS INDEED IT WAS HANDLED WITH THE ISRAELIS.

Q. TO WHICH COUNTRY ARE WE GIVING IT?

A. THE PARTIES THAT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH HERETOFORE, THAT IS TO SAY EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, AND I WILL THEN HAVE TO SEE BEYOND -- I WAS JUST THINKING OF A COUPLE OF OTHERS THAT ARE POSSIBLES AND I BETTER CHECK TO SEE WHO IS EXPRESSLY INCLUDED IN THIS FIRST SHIPMENT.

SO, I WILL TAKE THAT QUESTION AND GET IT RIGHT AFTER THIS BRIEFING.

Q. IS LEBANON ONE OF THE COUNTRIES?

A. THAT IS WHAT I SAY. I WAS THINKING OF THAT ONE.

Q. OR SAUDI ARABIA?

A. AND SAUDI ARABIA. I WILL JUST HAVE TO GET THE ANSWER.

Q. BUT I AM THINKING ABOUT LEBANON AS A PARTICIPANT TO

THE CONFERENCE AS OPPOSED TO JUST GETTING THE WORKING PAPERS.

A. ALL PARTIES, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, HAVE AGREED TO LEBANON'S PARTICIPATION IN THAT CONFERENCE. I DO NOT FIND THAT AS OUTSTANDING.

Q. THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN SETTLED?

A. I DON'T THINK IT IS SETTLED IN THAT I DON'T BELIEVE

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ANYBODY HAS SIGNED A ROUND ROBIN TO THAT EFFECT, BUT
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT WE HAVE HAD WITH ALL THE VARIOUS
PARTIES IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT WE HAVE HAD AGREEMENT
FROM ALL THAT LEBANON COULD AND SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

Q. IS SAUDI ARABIA A POSSIBLE PARTICIPANT IN THIS
CONFERENCE?

A. IT IS NOT MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WOULD BE.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION? HAVE YOU SENT THEM A
COPY YET?

A. LET ME TAKE IT. I AM JUST NOT SURE. I WOULD IMAGINE
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THAT THEY HAVE A COPY, BUT I DON'T KNOW THAT FOR A FACT.

Q. THE SECRETARY YESTERDAY ON CBS SAID THAT HE WOULD
SPEAK TO THE ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS -- THOSE ARE HIS
WORDS -- AFTER STUDYING THE ISRAELI REPLY. WHAT DID HE
MEAN BY THAT?

A. I AM NOT POSITIVE ABOUT THAT. LET ME DEAL WITH
SOMETHING I AM POSITIVE ABOUT. THERE IS NO PLAN AT THIS
POINT FOR A TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THEREFORE, I JUST
DON'T KNOW WHAT THAT REFERENCE MEANT.

Q. MAY HE MEET SOME OF THEM WHO ARE STILL HERE?

A. THAT IS ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY.

Q. THEY ARE ALL GONE.

A. ACTUALLY THEY ARE NOT ALL GONE. I MEAN THERE WILL
BE ONE AT LEAST THAT WILL BE HERE LATER. BUT BE THAT AS
IT MAY, LET ME JUST TAKE A LOOK HERE. INSOFAR AS I KNOW
THERE IS NO SCHEDULED MEETING OVER THE NEXT WEEK AND A
HALF WITH A FOREIGN MINISTER.

Q. IS THERE AN EXPECTATION HERE NOW THAT THE INVOLVED
ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL MEET AMONG THEMSELVES
SOMEWHERE DURING THE MONTH OF OCTOBER TO WORK OUT A JOINT
RESPONSE TO THE WORKING PAPER?

A. I AM NOT SURE OF THAT EXPECTATION. I THINK THE FIRST
EXPECTATION IS THAT THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES
ARE GOING TO HAVE TO STUDY IT, WHICH IS A GIVEN OBVIOUSLY.
I DO NOT KNOW, BUT I DON'T WANT THAT TO BE A TAKEN AS
A DEFINITIVE ANSWER. WHY DON'T I TAKE THAT QUESTION AND
SEE WHETHER THERE SEEMS TO BE ANY PLANS? IN THE MEANTIME
WHILE I AM TRYING TO GET AN ANSWER YOU MIGHT CHECK WITH

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ONE OF THE EMBASSIES HERE. I DON'T KNOW OF IT, HOWEVER. I DON'T KNOW OF A FORMALLY SET MEETING. LET ME MAKE SURE WE UNDERSTAND THOUGH. I AM TAKING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT WE KNOW OF A FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING AT SOME POINT.

Q. WILL THE PALESTINIANS' REPRESENTATIVES TO GENEVA BE ALLOWED TO REPRESENT THE STATE OF PALESTINE?

A. THERE IS NO STATE OF PALESTINE.

Q. WELL, THAT IS WHAT THEY ARE AFTER.

A. I UNDERSTAND THAT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE AFTER VARYING SORTS OF THINGS OUT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Q. THERE WAS A STATE OF PALESTINE.

A. I UNDERSTAND THERE IS NO STATE CALLED PALESTINE TODAY.

Q. COULD YOU CLARIFY ONCE AGAIN, IS THE WORKING PAPER COMPLETE OR IS IT INCOMPLETE? I MEAN DOES IT ADDRESS THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS?

A. I AM REALLY NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GO INTO THE DETAILS OF WHAT IS IN THE PAPER. IT IS A WORKING PAPER. IT REPRESENTS SOME POINTS WHICH WERE HAMMERED OUT TOGETHER BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND MR. VANCE AND BETWEEN THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND I AM NOT REALLY GOING TO BE ABLE TO GO DOWN AND LIST EVERYTHING THAT IS IN IT. I AM JUST SIMPLY NOT IN A POSITION TO DO THAT.

Q. IN THE HAMMERING OUT OF THIS PROCESS WERE CERTAIN THINGS REMOVED FROM THE WORKING PAPERS SO AS TO ALLOW THAT TO BE AGREED ON, THAT COULD BE AGREED ON AT THIS

TIME, AND TO PUT OFF FOR FURTHER WORKING PAPERS OR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OTHER QUESTIONS?

A. THAT IS A GOOD QUESTION, BUT THE ANSWER TAKES ME INTO THE QUESTION OF DEFINING WHAT IS IN THE PAPER AND I JUST CAN'T.

Q. THE SECOND THING IS WILL THE WORKING PAPER BE HANDED OVER HERE IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS IN THE ARAB

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CAPITALS?

A. YOU MEAN ARE WE GOING TO HAND IT TO THE AMBASSADORS HERE?

Q. YES.

A. AGAIN I THINK I BETTER JUST TAKE THAT ONE RATHER THAN JUST PUNT ON IT.

Q. THE SYRIANS SAID THERE WILL BE NO GENEVA WITHOUT THE PLO? SO, WOULD GENEVA RE-CONVENE WITHOUT THE SYRIANS BEING PRESENT?

A. I THINK I HAVE HAD THAT QUESTION BEFORE IN OTHER FORMS. IT WAS ASKED OF ME AS A THEORETICAL QUESTION. IT WAS ASKED OF ME PRACTICALLY ABOUT ISRAEL. I THINK THE GENERAL POLICY POSITION IS THAT WE BELIEVE THAT ALL THE PARTICIPANTS OUGHT TO BE THERE. THAT IS TO SAY ALL THE PARTIES WHO ARE ENGAGED IN THIS EFFORT AT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND WHO ARE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN WHAT HAS BEEN BELLIGERENCY IN THE PAST AND WHO ARE DIRECTLY CONTIGUOUS. SO, I WOULD SAY THAT THERE IS NO PLANNING UNCLASSIFIED

FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF THE EXCLUSION OF ANY OF THE STATES WHO ARE PARTIES TO THIS MATTER.

Q. YOU SAID THAT THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO PLAN AT THIS POINT FOR THE SECRETARY TO GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST. DID YOU MEAN TO LEAVE A SLIGHT OUT? IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OR ANY CONSIDERATION OF THIS BEING GIVEN BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR?

A. YES, I AM LEAVING MYSELF A SLIGHT OUT BECAUSE THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY THAT SUCH A THING MIGHT BE DEEMED NECESSARY. OUR INTENTION, OUR INTENTION, AND THAT IS A STATEMENT OF REALITY. IT IS NOT, HOWEVER, A STATEMENT OF PLANNING CONSIDERATION AT THIS POINT, I.E. IT IS NOT SOMETHING THAT THE SECRETARY IS NOW FIDDLING

AROUND WITH HIS CALENDAR TRYING TO FIGURE OUT. MUCH DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON WHAT HAPPENS NOW IN RELATION TO THE WORKING PAPER AND TO OTHER FURTHER DISCUSSIONS THAT ARE GOING TO BE CONDUCTED.

Q. AT WHAT LEVEL?

A. AT THE LEVEL I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED.

Q. IN EFFECT WHAT YOU ARE SAYING THOUGH, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS THAT IF YOU HAVE A DEADLOCK ON THE WORKING PAPER AND

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YOU CAN'T GET A BREAKTHROUGH TOWARD RECONVENING GENEVA, THE SECRETARY IS NOT EXCLUDING --

A. I WANT TO BE VERY, VERY CAREFUL HERE. I AM NOT REALLY SUGGESTING ANYTHING. I AM SIMPLY SAYING TO YOU THAT I CANNOT HONESTLY TELL YOU THAT THERE WILL NEVER
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BE ANOTHER MIDDLE EASTERN TRIP.

Q. I AM ASKING ABOUT THIS YEAR.

A. YES. I KNOW WHAT YOU ARE ASKING. BUT I DON'T WANT YOU TO TAKE THAT ONE AS SORT OF BELIEF THAT THIS IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED AS SOMETHING THAT IS GOING TO BE NECESSARY. THERE MAY BE SOME IN THIS BUILDING WHO MAY THING THAT THAT IS THE WAY IT IS GOING TO TURN OUT. WHAT WE ARE NOW TRYING TO FIND OUT IS HOW INDEED THIS ROUND IS GOING TO TURN OUT BEFORE THAT KIND OF DECISION IS MADE.

Q. AS OF NOW, IF I UNDERSTAND YOU CORRECTLY, THE ISSUE OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED.

A. THAT IS CORRECT.

Q. AND AN EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO RESOLVE IT BEFORE A GENEVA CONFERENCE CAN BE RECONVENED?

A. I BELIEVE THAT WITHOUT A RESOLUTION, WHICH MEANS AN ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE PARTIES OF A FORMULA WHICH INVOLVES PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, THERE CAN BE NO RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

Q. THAT HAS NOT YET HAPPENED?

A. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THAT HAS HAPPENED.

Q. EITHER FROM THE ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW OR FROM THE ARAB POINT OF VIEW?

A. WELL, THE POINT OF VIEW THAT MATTERS IS THE JOINT POINT OF VIEW. THEY EACH HAVE POSITIONS WHICH THEY HAVE ENUNCIATED PUBLICLY AND WHICH REPRESENT THEIR POSITIONS, THAT IS AS TO THE NATURE OF WHAT PALESTINIAN REPRESENTA-
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TION MUST BE, AND THAT QUESTION REMAINS AN OUTSTANDING QUESTION.

Q. THE UNITED STATES ALSO HAS A POSITION OF ITS OWN ON

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HOW THIS COULD POSSIBLY BE RESOLVED. BY ITS DECISION OF LAST NIGHT DID THE ISRAELI CABINET, IN EFFECT, SIMPLY RESTATE ITS OLD POSITION OR DID IT GO ALONG WITH A POSITION THAT IS ACCEPTABLE AT LEAST TO THE UNITED STATES?

A. THAT AGAIN IS A VERY GOOD QUESTION. THE PROBLEM WITH MY ANSWERING IT IS THAT IT WOULD GO TO THE HEART OF THE POINTS IN THE PAPER AND I CAN'T DO THAT.

Q. IF THE ARABS ACCEPT THE WORKING PAPER WILL THAT SOLVE THE QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION?

A. AGAIN I AM IN THE SAME POSITION. I AM NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GO INTO WHAT IS IN THE WORKING PAPER.

Q. IS IT STILL THE AMERICAN POSITION THAT ALL PARTICI-PANTS AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD ADHERE TO RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338?

A. YES.

Q. DO YOU HAPPEN TO KNOW IF THAT IS ALSO THE SOVIET POSITION AS A CO-CHAIRMAN?

A. THE SOVIET UNION BELIEVES THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT, AND I WOULD NOT WANT TO SPECIFY FOR THEM WHAT THEY ACCEPT, OR DON'T ACCEPT AS BEING A LITMUS TEST. I THINK THAT THEY DO HAVE A POSITION, HOWEVER, THEY CAN MAKE IT CLEAR TO YOU.
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Q. HAVE YOU RECEIVED THE ISRAELI REPLY NOW?

A. DO YOU MEAN, DO WE HAVE A FORMAL NOTIFICATION?

Q. YES.

A. YES, WE DO.

Q. AND DOES IT SPECIFY -- ARE THERE NO CONDITIONS ATTACHED, OR RESERVATIONS?

A. THERE ARE NO CONDITIONS ATTACHED. THERE ARE NO RESERVATIONS ATTACHED, BUT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THIS IS A WORKING PAPER. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE DISCUSSING BOTH PROCEDURES AND PROPOSALS WITH ALL THE PARTIES INCLUDING THE ISRAELIS AND THE ARABS, AS WE MOVE ALONG. BUT TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTION DIRECTLY, THERE ARE NO CONDITIONS AND NO RESERVATIONS ATTACHED.

Q. BUT IT HAS BEEN APPROVED INTACT, AS IT WAS AGREED IN NEW YORK?

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A. YES, THAT IS CORRECT.

Q. WELL YOU HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT THERE MAY BE SOME THINGS THAT THE ARABS MIGHT OBJECT TO IN THE WORKING PAPER AND MIGHT WANT CHANGED. WHAT YOU ARE SAYING NOW, JUST TO BE PERFECTLY CLEAR, IS THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE WORKING PAPER AS PRESENTED TO THE ISRAELIS, THAT THEY OBJECTED TO AND WANTED CHANGED?

A. I REALLY CAN'T SPEAK TO THE FIVE HOUR DEBATE. THEY ANNOUNCED THAT THEY ACCEPTED IT UNANIMOUSLY, INSIDE, AS A RESULT OF THE CABINET MEETING.

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Q. WHEN THEY INFORMED YOU OF THE ACCEPTANCE THEY ATTACHED --

A. THEY ATTACHED ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO IT.

Q. HAS THE WORKING PAPER PHYSICALLY BEEN TURNED OVER TO THEM -- OR TO THESE FIVE ARAB COUNTRIES?

A. THAT IS ESSENTIALLY A QUESTION I HAVE TAKEN. I AM NOT SURE, YOU KNOW, HOW IT WENT -- WHETHER IT HAS ALREADY GONE OUT BY CABLE TO BE HANDLED THROUGH THE EMBASSY -- I KNOW THAT IT HAS GONE, AND I AM GOING TO POST THAT, I TRUST, WITHIN FIFTEEN MINUTES AFTER THIS MEETING.

Q. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WHY DOES SAUDI ARABIA GET THE WORKING PAPER?

A. AGAIN, THAT IS WHY I TOOK THAT QUESTION. I WANT TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE WHETHER SAUDI ARABIA, LEBANON, AND WHO ELSE, GET IT -- AND THAT, AGAIN, IS SOMETHING THAT I HOPE I WILL HAVE FOR YOU RIGHT AWAY.

Q. LOOKING BEYOND THE WORKING PAPER AND EVEN, IF WE CAN SEE THAT FAR BEYOND, THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION

QUESTION -- HAS THE LATEST ROUND OF TALKS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN ONCE THEY DO, OR WHEN AND IF THEY DO SIT DOWN IN GENEVA? THAT IS, ARE WE ONLY TRYING TO GET THEM SEATED AND THEN MAYBE THEY WILL ALL FLOW UP IN A GREAT BALL OF SMOKE BECAUSE THEY CAN'T AGREE -- OR ARE WE SORT OF ASSUMING THAT IN ORDER TO GET THEM SEATED, WE ALSO HAVE TO KNOW WHERE THEY ARE GOING AFTER THAT ON WEST
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BANK SETTLEMENT AND THINGS OF THAT SORT?

A. WE HAVE VEEN CONCERNED, IN OUR TALKS, WITH BOTH THE PROCEDURAL QUESTION OF GETTING TO GENEVA AND ALSO THE FUNCTIONING OF GENEVA.

Q. BUT YOU SAY WE ARE CONCERNED, IS THAT --

A. YES., THAT ISSUE HAS BEEN RAISED REPEATEDLY IN OUR CONVERSATION.

Q. IS THERE ANY SORT OF AGREEMENT OR UNDERSTANDING BEGINNING TO APPEAR OVER THE HORIZON ON WHAT MIGHT COME OUT OF GENEVA? OR IS THE ONLY THING WE ARE MOVING TOWARD RIGHT NOW, JUST BEGINNING GENEVA?

A. I THINK WHAT I WOULD HAVE TO SORT OF RETREAT TO ON THIS ONE, IS THAT THE SHAPE OF A GENEVA SETTLEMENT IS, IN FACT, FOR THE PARTIES TO DETERMINE. WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO IS BOTH MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO GET TO GENEVA THROUGH OFFICES AS AN HONEST BROKER, AND SECOND, TO HELP DEVISE A PROCEDURE AT GENEVA SO THAT THE PARTIES CAN NEGOTIATE FULLY AND EFFICIENTLY.

Q. BUT IS IT THE POSITION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT THAT IT'S DESIRABLE TO SIT DOWN IN GENEVA AT CONSIDERABLE RISK OF HAVING EVERYBODY FALL OUT IN GREAT ANGER WITH EACH OTHER -- RATHER THAN NOT SITTING DOWN AT GENEVA AT ALL?

A. I THINK THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED IT AT THE TIME BY SAYING AT THE TIME OF KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT -- AND IT HAS BEEN REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES SINCE -- THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT INTERESTED SIMPLY IN GOING TO GENEVA FOR THE SAKE OF GOING TO GENEVA, THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE BETTER PREPARED THAN THAT -- I.E. THAT THERE SHOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

SOME KIND OF AN AGREEMENT ON HOW WE ARE GOING TO PROCEED WITH WORK WHEN WE ARE THERE. BUT AGAIN, AS TO WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU GET THERE I AM NOT PREPARED TO SPECULATE

ABOUT WHAT FORMS THE DISCUSSION MIGHT TAKE IN SUBSTANCE, OR WHAT THE RESULTS MIGHT BE. WHAT WE OBVIOUSLY HOPE, IS THAT THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAT WE TOOK WITH US TO THE MIDDLE EAST -- AND AS THE PRESIDENT HAS EXPRESSED THEM A NUMBER OF TIMES -- WOULD BE INCORPORATED IN AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. BUT THAT IS WHAT WE FEEL ARE NECESSARY ELEMENTS FOR THAT SETTLEMENT.

Q. WELL ALL RIGHT, BUT AFTER WE HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT

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ON A WORKING PAPER, IF WE REACH IT, AND IF WE REACH AGREEMENT ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION; DO WE THEN FURTHER HAVE TO REACH GENERAL AGREEMENT IN THESE BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS ON WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN GENEVA BEFORE THE CONFERENCE CAN BE CONVENED? OR DO WE GO RIGHT INTO THE CONFERENCE WITHOUT ANY SORT OF FURTHER GENERAL AGREEMENT?

A. I THINK THAT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN WORKING OUT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, THE PROCEDURES FOR HOW YOU MOVE FORWARD AT GENEVA, AS WELL AS THE PROCEDURES FOR GETTING TO GENEVA. NOW THESE ARE TECHNICAL PROCEDURES AS TO HOW YOU ARE GOING TO OPERATE AT GENEVA.

Q. "PROCEDURES" YOU KNOW THAT'S MECHANICS. WHAT ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT THOUGH?

A. BASICALLY ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT WE HAVE MADE CLEAR WHAT WE THINK IT HAS TO INCORPORATE. BUT I REPEAT HERE, BECAUSE IT IS A FACT, THAT THE ONLY PARTIES UNCLASSIFIED

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WHO CAN COME UP WITH A LASTING AGREEMENT ARE IN FACT THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE IN THE AREA. AND IN THAT RESPECT, WHILE WE ARE, OF COURSE, VERY HAPPY IF THEY HAD SUCH AGREEMENT AS TO MAKE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE MERELY A FORMALITY, WE ARE CERTAINLY NOT IMPOSING THAT KIND OF CONDITION, OR SUGGESTING THAT IT HAS TO BE ALL CUT AND DRIED BEFORE WE GO THERE.

Q. HOW CAN YOU REFER TO THESE AS "NECESSARY ELEMENTS" IF THERE IS NO EXPRESSED INTENTION TO IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT?

A. BECAUSE THAT IS, IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THERE IS A GENERAL SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT WE BELIEVE ARE NECESSARY TO LASTING PEACE. THAT IS WHAT WE THINK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FACT THAT WE THINK IT: (1) DOESN'T MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY HOLY WRIT; (2) NOR DOES IT IMPOSE THOSE PRINCIPLES UPON THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE. THESE ARE THE ELEMENTS THAT WE THINK WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED IN A LASTING PEACE SETTLEMENT.

Q. THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "DESIRABLE" AND "NECESSARY." "NECESSARY" CARRIES A LARGER --

A. I UNDERSTAND THAT. I DON'T WANT IT TO HAVE TO CARRY THE WEIGHT THAT IF THEY DIDN'T COME DOWN EXACTLY ON ALL THE PRINCIPLES AS WE DEFINED THEM, WE THINK IT WOULD FAIL -- BECAUSE FRANKLY, THE ONLY KIND OF CONFERENCE WE THINK WOULD FAIR IS ONE IN WHICH THE PARTIES THEMSELVES CANNOT REACH AGREEMENT ON ALL THE NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT.

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Q. I AM CONFUSED BY YOUR DECLINING TO ANSWER THE QUESTION A LITTLE WHILE AGO ABOUT WHETHER ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKING PAPER BY THE PARTIES WOULD IN EFFECT RESOLVE THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. I THOUGHT YOU HAD SAID EARLIER THAT EVEN IF THEY ACCEPTED IT VERBATIM
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THERE WOULD BE TOUGH QUESTIONS REMAINING TO DISCUSS -- AND YOU HAD INDICATED THAT ONE OF THOSE WAS THE DETAILS OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.

A. I WOULD STICK WITH THAT. BUT THE REASON I DON'T WANT TO GO ANY FURTHER, TO BE PERFECTLY HONEST, IS THAT IT THEN REQUIRES ME TO START DEFINING PRECISELY WHAT IS IN THE WORKING PAPER. I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO DO THAT.

Q. BUT THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, IN EFFECT, BASED ON YOUR EARLIER ANSWER, IS "NO, THE WORKING PAPER WOULD NOT --"

A. EVEN AFTER ACCEPTANCE, WE HAVE A NUMBER OF MATTERS WHICH WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DISCUSS WITH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB NATIONS ABOUT PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE WORKING PAPER BUT WHICH NONETHELESS WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN GREATER DETAIL -- AND THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT IS. BUT I CAN'T GO INTO WHAT, SPECIFICALLY, IS IN THE WORKING PAPER.

Q. IS THERE ANY KIND OF A DOCUMENT, OR IS IT INCLUDED IN THE WORKING PAPER -- A SET OF PRINCIPLES FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE? BECAUSE THE WATERS HAVE BEEN A LITTLE BIT MUDDY NOW, BY THE SOVIET STATEMENT BY THE SOVIETS NOT ENDORSING 242 AND 338 EXCLUSIVELY. IS ANY EFFORT BEING MADE TO BEGIN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON A DEFINED SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT ALL THE PARTIES ACCEPT?

A. AGAIN, I AM NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH WHAT THE WORKING PAPER HAS IN THERE. OUR EFFORTS HAVE OBVIOUS-LYBEEN CARRIED OUT UNDER AN UMBRELLA WHICH INCLUDES SOME

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GENERAL NOTIONS OF PRINCIPLES THAT WE THINK WOULD BE USEFUL, NECESSARY, HELPFUL TO A FINAL LASTING PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THOSE PRINCIPLES WE HAVE ENUNCIATED PUBLICLY AND CARRIED PRIVATELY. BUT I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT, AGAIN, WE DON'T THINK YOU CAN GO TO GENEVA WITHOUT HAVING THE ISSUES CUT AND DRIED.

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Q. NO THE SUBSTANCE, DO YOU FEEL THAT THE GAPS BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES, IS NOT UNBRIDGEABLE, THAT IT IS WORTHWHILE GOING TO GENEVA TO TRY AND BRIDGE THEM?

A. YES, WE BELIEVE THAT, AGAIN, THAT THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES IS A USEFUL PROCESS -- ASSUMING THAT IN FACT THERE IS ENOUGH PRIOR AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS -- THAT THE CONFERENCE JUST SIMPLY WOULDN'T -- PEOPLE WALK IN THE DOOR AND WALK OUT THE OTHER ONE. YES, WE BELIEVE THAT THE EXERCISE WOULD BE USEFUL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMMON STAKE THAT ALL THE PARTIES HAVE IN A PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS SUCH THAT THAT IN ITSELF WOULD BE A MAJOR INDUCEMENT TO SUBSTANTIVE AND FINALLY FRUITFUL, DISCUSSIONS.

Q. YOU SAID ABOUT LEBANON PARTICIPATION IN GENEVA. DID THE LEBANESE EXPRESS THE WISH, OR DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE?

A. THE QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEBANESE, AND WE HAVE TOLD THEM THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT THEIR PARTICIPATION. WE HAVE EXPRESSED THAT PUBLICLY ON OUR TRIPS WHEN WE WERE IN THE AREA AND WE HAVE SAID SO SINCE.

Q. YES, I UNDERSTAND THAT -- BUT EVERYBODY ELSE EXCEPT THEM IS PROBABLY INTERESTED IN THEIR PARTICIPATION. BUT DID THEY SAY WHETHER THEY WERE INTERESTED -- WHETHER THEY WANT TO ATTEND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE?
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A. AS I RECALL -- I AM TRYING TO RECALL THE PRESS CONFERENCES -- I HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY IN SORT OF ENUNCIATING FROM HERE ANOTHER GOVERNMENT'S DESIRES ON SOMETHING ALONG THAT LINE. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE.

Q. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT MIGHT TAKE IN TERMS OF DAYS, OR WEEKS, BEFORE WE KNOW WHAT IS THE FATE OF THE WORKING PAPER?

A. I DON'T HAVE A PROJECTION ON THAT. I REALLY WOULDN'T

HAVE A VERY GOOD SPECULATION FOR YOU.

2. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WAS POSTED IN THE DEPARTMENT PRESS OFFICE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION TAKEN AT THE OCTOBER 12 PRESS BRIEFING.

Q. WHICH ARAB GOVERNMENTS ARE RECEIVING THE WORKING PAPER?

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A. EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA ARE THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED
IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IN MAKING PEACE WITH ISRAEL,
AND THEY WILL BE RECEIVING THE WORKING PAPER. IT
<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
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Control Number: n/a
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Sent Date: 12-Oct-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
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